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Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
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S E C R E T ANKARA 4981

EXDIS - MILITARY ADDRESSEES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR, NATO, TU, GR
SUBJECT: GREEK REINTEGRATION INTO NATO

REF: ANKARA 4879 (DTG 030815Z JUL 78)

1. ON JULY 6, ACTING CHIEF OF EMBASSY'S MUTUAL SECURITY AFFAIRS SECTION MET WITH FOREIGN MINISTRY DIRECTOR OF NATO AFFAIRS (ALI HIKMET ALP) ON SUBJECT OF GREEK REINTEGRATION INTO NATO. ALP INVITED EMBOFF TO MINISTRY AS FOLLOW-UP TO AMBASSADOR'S DISCUSSION WITH PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT AND FOREIGN MINISTER OKCUN PER PARAS 7 AND 8 REFTEL. ALP BEGAN BY SAYING THAT ECEVIT AND OKCUN WERE "VERY SURPRISED" THAT USG RAISED THE MATTER OF GREEK REINTEGRATION AT THIS TIME, ESPECIALLY WHEN OTHER AND MORE IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS SUCH AS VAROSHA AND THE ARMS EMBARGO WERE BEING DISCUSSED. ALSO, ALP NOTED THAT THE PROCESSES IN NATO REGARDING GREEK REINTEGRATION "HAD NOT GONE FAR ENOUGH" AND, THUS, THE U.S. INITIATIVE IN THE ECEVIT MEETING WAS PERHAPS PREMATURE.
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2. EMBOFF ASSURED ALP THAT THE USG, BY RAISING GREEK REINTE-GRATION IN THE MEETING WITH ECEVIT AND OKCUN, WAS NOT SEEKING A BLANKET GOT COMMITMENT ON THE CONDITIONS OF GREEK RE-ENTRY, BUT RATHER WAS SEEKING A SHARED APPRECIATION OF THE DESIRABILITY OF FACILITATING REINTEGRATION AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME. EMBOFF NOTED THAT QUESTIONS REGARDING GREEK RE-ENTRY INTO NATO HAD COME UP IN CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY AND THAT THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION

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WAS TAKING A POSITIVE AND FORWARD-LOOKING APPROACH ON
GREEK REINTEGRATION. ALP SAID THAT THE GOT FULLY UNDERSTOOD
THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WAS ATTEMPTING TO ASSURE CONGRESS AND
THE U.S. PUBLIC THAT THE GREEKS WOULD RE-ENTER THE ALLIANCE
MILITARY STRUCTURE AFTER THE TURKISH ARMS EMBARGO IS LIFTED.
MOREOVER, ALP CONTINUED, THE GOT WAS SEEKING TO COOPERATE IN
COOLING OFF GREEK-TURKISH DIFFERENCES REGARDING GREEK RE-ENTRY
BY NOT MAKING PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON THE SUBJECT. ALP NOTED,
FOR EXAMPLE, THAT TURKISH GENERAL STAFF (TGS) CHIEF GENERAL
EVREN MADE ONLY A LOW-KEY AND NON-CONTENTIOUS STATEMENT AT
THE LANDSOUTHEAST COMMAND CHANGE CEREMONY ON JUNE 30 AND DID
NOT REFER TO PROBLEMS RELATING TO GREEK REINTEGRATION. IN
CONTRAST, ALP POINTED OUT, THE GREEK PRESS WAS "FULL OF
SPECULATION" CONCERNING THE NEW NATO COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS AND
SACEUR'S DISCUSSIONS WITH GENERAL DAVIS.
3. ALP CONTINUED THAT THE GOT'S VIEWS ON THE SUBSTANTIVE
ISSUES INVOLVED IN GREEK REINTEGRATION HAVE BEEN FULLY EXPRESSED
IN NATO, AND TURKEY EXPECTS THAT THE CONSULTATION AND DECISION-
MAKING PROCESS AGREED TO (I.E., OPEN-ENDED GROUP DELIBERATIONS,
FOLLOWED BY DPC AND NAC CONSULTATIONS) MUST BE MAINTAINED.
SPECIFICALLY, THE GOT WAS CONCERNED THAT SACEUR MAY HAVE ENGAGED
IN "UNAUTHORIZED NEGOTIATIONS/ WITH GENERAL DAVOS AND
POSSIBLY MADE COMMITMENTS TO THE GREEKS WITHOUT APPROVAL OF
NATO POLITICAL BODIES. WHEN EMBOFF SAID HE DID NOT BELIEVE
THIS TO BE THE CASE, ALP SAID (CITING HIS OWN EXPERIENCE AS
TURKISH DEPUTY PERMREP) THAT TURKISH REPRESENTATIVES WOULD
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STRENUOUSLY INSIST THAT THE FORMALITIES OF CONSULTATIONS
IN THE OEG AND IN OTHER BODIES ARE OBSERVED.
4. PROCEEDING TO A DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES, ALP WAS
PESSIMISTIC THAT EARLY AGREEMENT COULD BE ACHIEVED ON NATO
COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS WHICH, HE POINTED OUT, ULTIMATELY DEPEND
ON GREEK-TURKISH AGREEMENT ON AEGEAN AIR AND SEA BOUNDARIES.
HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE
AGREED IN ISOLATION FROM OTHER ISSUES THAT HAVE BEEN
IDENTIFIED BY THE OEG; RATHER, AN ACCEPTABLE "PACKAGE" EMBRACING
ALL OUTSTANDING ISSUES WOULD HAVE TO BE DEVELOPED. THE TERMS OF
GREEK REINTEGRATION, HE SAID, COULD NOT BE RESOLVED BY
RETURNING TO THE STATUS QUO BEFORE 1974 BECAUSE IMPORTANT
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE GREEK AND TURKISH POSITIONS ON COMMAND
ARRANGEMENTS, TO NAME BUT ONE SUBJECT, EXISTED BEFORE THAT TIME.
5. ASKED ABOUT POSSIBLE INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS PENDING A GREEK-
TURKISH SETTLEMENT OF AEGEAN PROBLEMS, ALP SAID HE STRONGLY
DOUBTED WHETHER THERE WAS ROOM FOR COMPROMISE "BECAUSE
THE GREEKS USED NATO DECISIONS TO SUPPORT THEIR JURIDICAL
CLAIMS IN THE AEGEAN." IN THIS CONNECTION, ALP RECALLED THAT
THE TURKISH REPRESENTATIVES HAVE SAID IN NATO FORA THAT GREEK
REINTEGRATION WOULD DEPEND PRIMARILY ON TWO FACTORS:
REPEAL OF THE U.S. ARMS EMBARGO AND DEMILITARIZATION OF THE

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GREEK ISLANDS OFF THE TURKISH MAINLAND. HE CONTINUED THAT, EVEN IF THE EMBARGO WERE LIFTED, AN "UNNATURAL STATE OF AFFAIRS" WOULD STILL EXIST BECAUSE THE GREEKS HAVE FORTIFIED THE AEGEAN ISLANDS AGAINST A NATO ALLY. NEVERTHELESS, ALP EVINCED SOME OPTIMISM THAT A "PACKAGE" COULD BE WORKED OUT IN FUTURE GREEK-TURK BILATERAL MEETINGS, SUCH AS THE JULY 4-5 MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTRY SECRETARIES-GENERAL, THAT WOULD INCLUDE A VARIANT OF THE GREEK NON-AGGRESSION PROPOSAL, DEMILITARIZATION OF THE AEGEAN ISLANDS, AND SOME PROGRESS ON THE ATHENS FIR AND AEGEAN TERRITORIAL WATERS PROBLEMS. AT ANY RATE, ALP DID NOT FORESEE SUCH AGREEMENT IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS AND SAID THAT "MUCH MORE DISCUSSION" OF NATO-RELATED PROBLEMS IS NEEDED IN BRUSSELS.

6. FINALLY, ALP ASKED THAT WE CONVEY THE FOREGOING TO

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WASHINGTON WITH THE COMMENT THAT THERE IS NO "QUICK AND SIMPLE" SOLUTION TO EITHER THE GREEK REINTEGRATION PROBLEM OR TO GREEK-TURKISH DIFFERENCES OVER THE AEGEAN.

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